

Polling Iranian Public Opinion: An Unprecedented Nationwide Survey of Iran

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Executive Summary

Discontent with the current system of government, the state of Iran's economy, and isolation from the West is widespread throughout Iran. In this context, nuclear weapons are the lowest priority for the Iranian people.

Iranians even overwhelmingly support their government providing full inspections and a guarantee not to develop nuclear weapons in return for trade and assistance from other countries. The popular will to live in a democracy open to the West and the United States, with greater economic opportunity, comes from every region and segment of Iranian society.

These are among the significant findings of the first nationwide public opinion survey of Iran on these issues since President Ahmadinejad took office in August 2005. The survey was conducted by telephone from June 5th to June 18th, 2007, with 1,000 interviews proportionally distributed according to the population covering all 30 provinces of Iran. The last poll to ask similar controversial questions was conducted in September 2002 by Abbas Abdi inside Iran, who was imprisoned as a result.

Developing nuclear weapons was seen as a very important priority for the Iranian government by only 29% of Iranians. By contrast, 88% of Iranians considered improving the Iranian economy as a very important priority for their government.

Rather, 80% of Iranians favor Iran providing full inspections and a guarantee not to develop or possess nuclear weapons in return for outside aid. A majority of Iranians (52%) also favor the development of nuclear weapons and believe that the people of Iran would live in a safer world if Iran possessed nuclear weapons. However, support for nuclear weapons drops to below 17% if Iran were to receive outside assistance in return for full inspections and a guarantee not to have nuclear weapons.

68% of Iranians also favor normal relations and trade with the United States. In return for normal relations, a majority of Iranians favor recognizing Israel and Palestine as independent states, ending Iranian support for any armed groups inside Iraq, and full transparency by Iran to the United States to ensure there are no Iranian endeavors to develop nuclear weapons.

Yet the most significant finding of our survey for Iran's present rulers may be the Iranian people's opposition to their current system of government.

61% of Iranians were willing to tell our pollsters over the phone that they oppose the current Iranian system of government, where the Supreme Leader rules according to religious principles and cannot be chosen or replaced by direct vote of the people. Even more telling, however, over 79% of Iranians support a democratic system instead, where the Supreme Leader, along with all leaders, can be chosen and replaced by a free and direct vote of the people.

Only 11% of Iranians said that they would strongly oppose having a political system where all of their leaders, including the Supreme Leader, are chosen by popular election. 80% of Iranians also oppose a return to monarchy.

Iranians in every demographic group oppose the unelected rule of the Supreme Leader in favor of electing all their leaders. While these views run stronger in Tehran, they are also held across all provinces of Iran, and in both urban and rural areas.

The survey also leaves no doubt that the Iranian economy is the number one issue of concern for Iranians from every age, region, education level and class. 80% think the present economic situation in Iran is fair or poor, and 9 out of every 10 Iranians believe that creating new jobs and curbing inflation should be very important priorities for their government.

Indeed, three-quarters favor Western investment to create more jobs, as well as medical, education and humanitarian assistance from Western countries to Iranian people in need. Trade and political relations with the West were the second highest priority Iranians chose for their government, after improving the Iranian economy. Support for Western relations in general was also much stronger than support for the United States alone.

The survey had other important findings as well:

- A significant minority of Iranians still support the current system of rule by the Supreme Leader as well as certain policies of President Ahmadinejad, ranging from 23% to 34%;
- Almost two-thirds of Iranians support financial assistance to Palestinian opposition groups like Hamas and Islamic Jihad, as well as Lebanese Hezbollah and Iraqi Shia militias;
- However, only a third consider the Iranian government providing financial support to these groups as very important, as opposed to 47% who think that seeking trade and political relations with Western countries is very important. In contrast, 88% of the public want improvement in their economy to be the top priority of the Iranian government, with developing nuclear weapons last at 29%;
- While nearly two-thirds support Hamas and Hezbollah, 55% of Iranians would also endorse recognizing Israel and Palestine each as separate, independent states, as part of achieving normal relations with the United States;
- 78% of Iranians strongly favor the development of nuclear energy, but only 33% strongly favor nuclear weapons;

- 56% of Iranians stated that President Ahmadinejad has failed to keep his campaign promise to "put oil money on the table of the people themselves;"
- France, the European Union and China were preferred by Iranians to the United States;
- Iranians chose normal trade with China and France by a nearly 2 to 1 margin over the United States:
- Similarly, 73% of Iranians would favor a medical humanitarian hospital ship to visit Iran, with that percentage holding steady if the ship comes from China or Europe, but dropping to 42% if the ship is American and only 21% if the ship is Israeli.

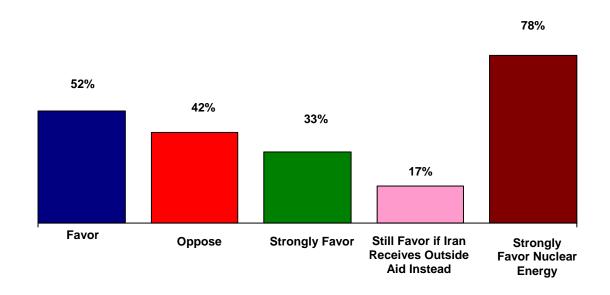
Keen observers of Iran have insisted for years that the Iranian people are pro-Western, indeed pro-American, while profoundly opposed to the largely unelected clerical regime that rules them.

Terror Free Tomorrow's unprecedented nationwide poll of Iran offers indisputable empirical proof that these commentators are accurate in their anecdotal assessment. Even answering our unknown pollsters over the telephone, Iranians have courageously asked for change.

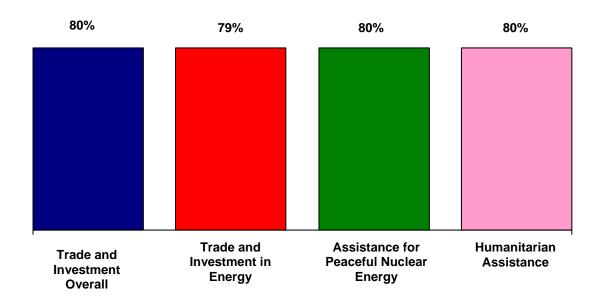
For a *Wall Street Journal* editorial on the poll, click <u>here</u>, for other press coverage, click <u>here</u>, for an event at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), click <u>here</u>.

Views of Iranians

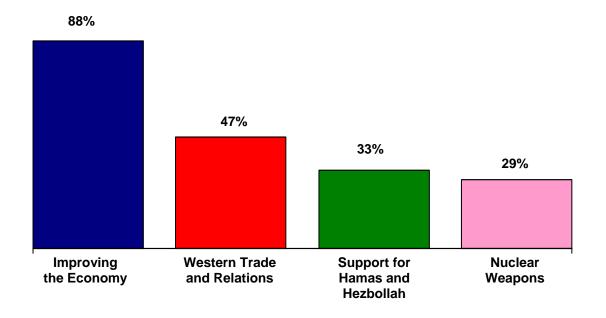
On Iran Developing/Possessing Nuclear Weapons, Percent of Iranians who:



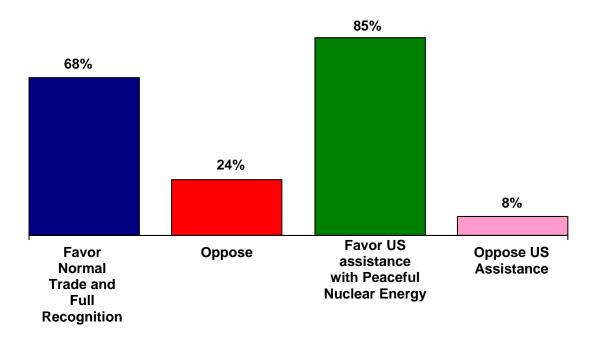
<u>Percent of Iranians Who Favor Full Inspections and Guarantee to ensure No Nuclear Weapons, If Iran Receives From Other Countries:</u>



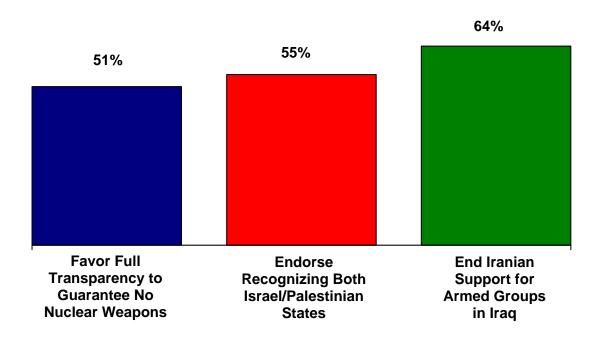
Priorities that Iranians Think are Very Important for their Government:



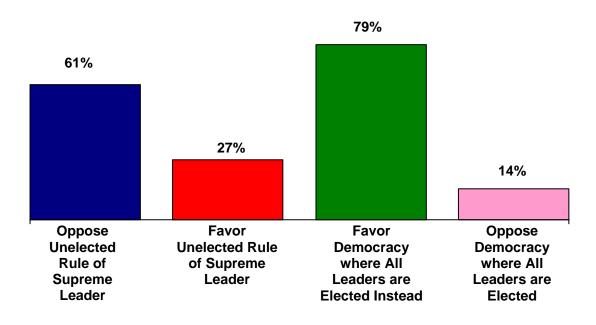
On Relations with the United States, Percent of Iranians who:



In Return for US Recognition and Trade, Percent of Iranians who:



On their Current System of Government, Percent of Iranians who:



Background and Methodology

Terror Free Tomorrow's survey results have been featured across the political spectrum by the Heritage Foundation, the Brookings Institution, the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), the Clinton Global Initiative and at the National Press Club. They have received lead editorials and feature stories in *The Wall Street Journal, The Washington Post, Associated Press, The Christian Science Monitor, USA Today, The Philadelphia Inquirer, The Miami Herald, The Baltimore Sun,* CNN, National Public Radio, *Roll Call, The Hill* and *U.S. News & World Report*, among others.

Terror Free Tomorrow is a non-partisan, not-for-profit organization, whose President, Ken Ballen, successfully prosecuted international terrorists, and played a leading role in some of the most important Congressional investigations over the past two decades. Our distinguished international Advisory Board is led by Senator John McCain, Lee Hamilton and Tom Kean.

In the last two years alone, Terror Free Tomorrow has conducted more than twenty-three nationwide public opinion surveys, including in Indonesia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Turkey, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and elsewhere. We completed the first nationwide public opinion survey in Bangladesh on international issues in almost five years, as well as the first such polls in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan since 9/11, among others.

Terror Free Tomorrow's surveys have been cited by former Presidents Bill Clinton and George H.W. Bush, and in the US Congress (on the Senate Floor, by key Senators and Congressmen, and in both House and Senate testimony), at the United Nations, and relied on by the State Department as an independent benchmark in evaluating the success of American foreign policy (State Dept Performance and Accountability Report), and by the Department of Defense in the National Military Strategic Plan for the War on Terrorism.

Terror Free Tomorrow was the first to conduct a nationwide poll in Indonesia after the tsunami. President Bush, and former Presidents Clinton and Bush, all cited the poll as a key reason for sustained American tsunami relief. The US State Department also relied on Terror Free Tomorrow polling in testimony before the US Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

In addition, Terror Free Tomorrow conducted the first and only poll in Pakistan after the devastating October 2005 earthquake. The poll was featured in *The Wall Street Journal*, CNN and international media. Moreover, the poll served as the principal finding by the US Senate for the United States "to take the lead" in relief efforts to Pakistani earthquake victims (Senate Resolution 356, co-sponsored by Senators Lugar and Biden, Chairman and Ranking Member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee).

In May 2007, Senators Russ Feingold (D-WI) and Norm Coleman (R-MN) have introduced important new legislation to strengthen America's public diplomacy and humanitarian efforts, relying on Terror Free Tomorrow's surveys as one of the key findings for the legislation.

The incoming Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and current Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Michael Mullen, wrote that Terror Free Tomorrow's findings, provided the proof to "one of the defining moments of this new century."

According to Admiral Mullen, Terror Free Tomorrow's findings have directly led to continuing successful mission by the U.S. Navy around the world, including the recent mission of the U.S. Navy ship *Mercy*.

Admiral Michael Mullen stated that the favorable change in public opinion documented by Terror Free Tomorrow after American tsunami relief was a "critical factor" in launching the 2006 mission of the Navy hospital ship *Mercy. Mercy* is a fully equipped, 1,000-bed hospital, which from May to August offered free medical services and training to the people of Indonesia, Bangladesh and elsewhere, including care to over 61,000 needy patients.

As Admiral Mullen testified in March 2007 before the U.S. House Armed Services Committee:

"Perhaps the most tangible application of Navy's global reach and persistent presence in building partner capacity was last year's five month deployment of the hospital ship *MERCY* in the summer of 2006 to the tsunami-affected areas in South and Southeast Asia. In an August 2006 public opinion survey, conducted by Terror Free Tomorrow, Indonesians and Bangladeshis overwhelmingly indicated their support of this humanitarian mission. In Indonesia, 85% of those aware of *MERCY*'s visit had a favorable opinion, and in Bangladesh this figure was 95%. Further, 87% of those polled in Bangladesh stated that *MERCY*'s activities made their overall view of the United States more positive. These polling results provide real indication of the power of our partnerships."

Terror Free Tomorrow's work has received lead editorials and featured stories in, among others, The Wall Street Journal, The Washington Post, Associated Press, The Christian Science Monitor, USA Today, The Philadelphia Inquirer, The Miami Herald, The Baltimore Sun, CNN, National Public Radio, Roll Call, The Hill and U.S. News & World Report. Other coverage includes The New York Times, MSNBC, ABC News, CBS News, FOX News, Reuters, The Washington Times, The New York Post, The National Review, The Boston Globe, The Houston Chronicle, The San Francisco Chronicle, United Press International, The White House Bulletin, The International Herald Tribune, The Globe and Mail (Canada), The Afghanistan Times, The Jakarta Post (Indonesia), Metro TV Indonesia, Tempo (Indonesia), Kompas (Indonesia), TV/Radio Australia, Straits Times (Malaysia), Pakistan Dawn, The Nation (Pakistan), GEO TV Pakistan, Pakistan Daily Times, Voice of America, Jornal do Brasil, Die Welt (Germany), Le Monde (France), BBC, The Guardian (UK), The

Daily Yomiuri (Japan), The China Post, The Seoul Times, The Indian Express (India), The Hindu (India), The Turkish Daily News, The Turkish Press, Zaman (Turkey), The Oman Tribune, The Gulf News (UAE and pan-Arab), The Middle East Times, The Iranian News, The Muslim News, and The Daily Star (Lebanon and pan-Arab), among others. Terror Free Tomorrow has also been extensively covered in blogs throughout the Internet.

Terror Free Tomorrow findings have also been cited in scholarly journals including the *Harvard International Review*, the *New England Journal of Medicine*, and important books on American foreign policy, such as *The Audacity of Hope* by Senator Barack Obama; Peter Beinart's *The Good Fight*; Tony Smith, *Washington's Bid*; Colonel David Hunt, *How to Wake Up Washington and Win the War on Terror* Carnes Lord, *Losing Hearts and Minds*; and Dick Martin, *Rebuilding Brand America*.

Terror Free Tomorrow's field partner and project manager on the Iran survey is D³ Systems, Inc. <u>www.D3systems.com</u>

Indeed, the Iranian survey follows the precedent of the first nationwide survey of Afghanistan by ABC News in December 2005, which won the Gallup Award for Excellent Journalism Using Polls and was also managed by D³ Systems.

D³ has conducted widely praised surveys in Iraq and Afghanistan for ABC News, *USA Today*, BBC and others. D³ is recognized for its expertise in overseeing research projects from design through analysis in some of the most difficult research environments around the globe.

Since 1988, D³ Systems has developed a particular expertise on research in the Middle East.

D³ Systems has developed unique research capabilities from scratch in Afghanistan and Iraq. D³ founded, in 2003, the first registered opinion research firm in Afghanistan: the *Afghan Center for Socio-economic and Opinion Research* (ACSOR). ACSOR has conducted qualitative and quantitative research projects for an international client group including The Asia Foundation, the US State Department, the BBC, the Voice of America, and Radio Free Europe. D3 has also conducted a number of quantitative surveys in Iraq for ABC News, *USA Today*, the BBC, the Voice of America, *Deutsche Welle*, Radio Sawa, and others.

Beginning in Europe in the early 1990s, D³ has played a leading role in the international use of telephone research for opinion polling and media audience measurement and evaluation into denied or limited access countries. While international telephone research from a central site (CATI) is an established method for consumer or business-to-business surveys, D³ has pioneered its use to reach publics in societies where on the ground, random probability sampling with sensitive questionnaires is not possible.

In countries where opinion polling and media research are sensitive or dangerous and telephone ownership is widespread, D³ conducts telephone surveys from a multi-lingual regional CATI center. These countries include Iran and Saudi Arabia. D³ has conducted quantitative and qualitative projects in the Middle East for key public sector broadcasters (VOA, Radio Sawa, Radio Farda, BBC, Deutsche Welle, and World Radio Network).

For the current survey of Iran, KA Europe SPRL also participated. Interviews were conducted by phone from a CATI facility in a nearby country outside Iran. The exact location of the CATI facility is not identified in order to maintain confidentiality for the interviewing team.

The interviews were conducted in Farsi by native speakers, among a random national sample of 1,000 Iranians aged 18 and up from June 5th to 18th, 2007. The questionnaire consisted of 20 substantive questions, 12 demographic questions, and 24 quality control questions. During the course of fieldwork, there were 2,124 contact attempts made. Of these, 465 resulted in non-contacts, yielding a non-contact rate of 21.9%. Another 8 contact attempts results in non-eligible respondents because they were not Iranian nationals. Of the 1,651 successful contacts, there were 651 refusals giving the study a 60.6% response rate. The poll has a +/- 3.1% margin of error at the 95% confidence interval.

Telephone interviewing was employed instead of face-to-face research in Iran because of the political and social constraints involved. Face-to-face interviewing in Iran can be difficult for interviewers who risk possible prosecution and imprisonment. The last poll to ask similar controversial questions was conducted in September 2002 by Abbas Abdi inside Iran, who was imprisoned as a result.

Face-to-face interviewing also poses issues related to access to households and respondents due to social considerations. Access to female respondents across the Middle East can also be challenging.

These problems can be overcome through the use of CATI research in Iran. Iran has an estimated national land-line telephone penetration rate of over 90%, which gives it a higher telephone penetration rate than many other countries. The high percentage of land-line households also reduces potential bias from cell phone-only households.

Interviews were conducted by 20 trained interviewers who are native Farsi speakers, with some university education or higher. Interviewers were briefed on a number of items including, but not limited to, the objective of the program and survey details, selection of respondents, the questionnaire (both asking of questions and recording of responses), timing and control issues, and usage of the CATI system. Interviews were subjected to numerous quality control

procedures including direct supervision of all interviews by a supervisor experienced in Iranian surveys.

The target sample was a random selection of Iranian nationals, both male and female, above the age of 18. The sample covered all 30 provinces of Iran, with the number of sampling points chosen in proportion to the size of each province's population, as well as both urban and rural strata. Sampling points were chosen by randomly selecting telephone exchanges within each province and randomizing the digits in the telephone numbers. Both starting points and households within each exchange were randomly selected while accommodating for the fact that telephone exchanges in Iran are indiscriminately assigned and mix both business and residential numbers. Respondents within each household were selected using the "Last Birthday" method.

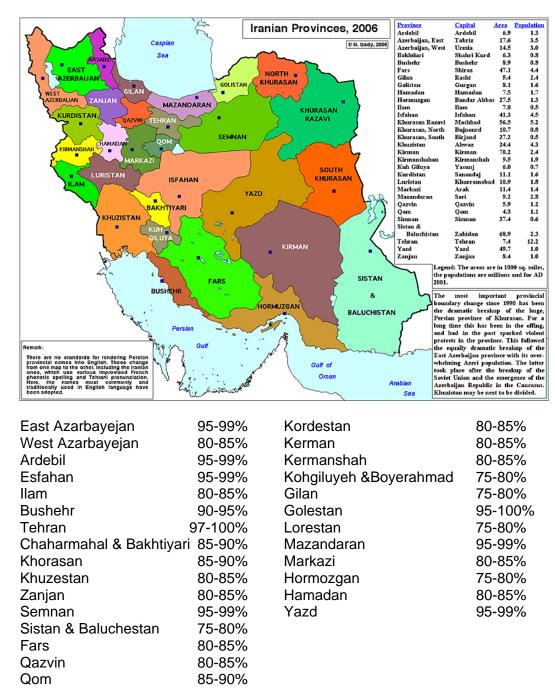
The interview was completed on the first call for 63.9% of respondents. The designated respondent was called up to 3 times for an interview. The interview was completed during the second call for 15.6% of respondents and on the third call for 20.5% of respondents. If the interviewer failed to speak to the eligible person after 3 call-backs, then the interviewer skipped to the next telephone number using the CATI system. Call-backs were utilized for 421 respondents; 361 of them were interviewed and 60 of them were not interviewed after 3 call-backs.

The survey yielded demographic results similar to that of official national population data from the Islamic Republic of Iran. D³ typically weights for both age and sex in surveys of Iran. During field, some telephone exchanges in Esfahan and Golestan provinces were not working at full capacity due to technical maintenance in the area. Therefore, a few sampling points from both provinces were replaced with those from other provinces. A third weighting column for province was added for this study to adjust for the slight under sample in Esfahan and Golestan (see the following charts). Otherwise, no significant problems were observed during fieldwork.

Chart 1: Weighted vs. Unweighted Demographics

	National Population %	TFT W1 Realized Sample (un- weighted)	TFT W1 Realized Sample (weighted)
Gender			
Male	51%	50%	50.5%
Female	49%	50%	49.5%
Age			
18-24	24%	35%	25%
25-34	27%	27%	27%
35-44	20%	20%	20%
45-54	11%	11%	11%
55+	17%	7%	17%
Geographic Code		_	
Urban	61%	61%	61%
Rural	39%	39%	39%
Province/City/Region			
Ardabil	2%	2%	2%
Azerbaijani Gharbi	4%	4%	4%
Azerbaijani Sharqi	5%	6%	5%
Bushehr	2%	1%	1%
Chahar Mahall va Bakhtiari	2%	1%	1%
Esfahan	8%	4%	6%
Fars	7%	7%	7%
Gilan	4%	4%	4%
Hamadan	2%	3%	3%
Hormozgan	2%	2%	2%
llam	1%	1%	1%
Kerman	4%	3%	3%
Kermanshahan	3%	3%	3%
Khorasan	10%	10%	10%
Khuzestan	6%	6%	6%
Kohkiluyeh va Buyer			
Ahmadi	1%	1%	1%
Kordestan	2%	2%	2%
Lorestan	2%	3%	3%
Markazi	2%	2%	2%
Mazandaran	4%	4%	4%
Semnan	1%	1%	1%
Sistan va Baluchistan	3%	3%	3%
Tehran	17%	17%	18%
Yazd	1%	1%	1%
Zanjan	2%	2%	2%
Qazvin	2%	2%	2%
Qom	1%	2%	2%
Golestan	2%	2%	2%

Chart 2: Telephone Penetration in Iran



The source of statistical information is the official website of STATISTICAL CENTRE OF IRAN (SCI). SCI also publishes official statistics on telephone installation and in-use figures, and places of usage (household, offices, public). SCI cites the Iranian Telecom Company as the source. The most recent data are from 2004 (Muslim Calendar Year 1383).

Chart 3: Distribution of Population and the Telephone Sample (Data Source: 2005 Population Estimates of Statistical Centre of Iran)

Province (Ostan)	Population	Distribution	Number of Interviews
Total Country	68.467.413	100,0%	1.000
East Azarbayejan	3.500.183	5,1%	51
West Azarbayejan	2.949.426	4,3%	43
Ardebil	1.257.624	1,8%	18
Esfahan	4.454.595	6,5%	65
llam	545.093	0,8%	8
Bushehr	816.115	1,2%	12
Tehran	12.150.742	17,7%	177
Chaharmahal & Bakhtiyari	842.002	1,2%	12
Khorasan*	6.499.906	9,5%	95
Khuzestan	4.345.607	6,3%	63
Zanjan	970.946	1,4%	14
Semnan	589.512	0,9%	9
Sistan & Baluchestan	2.290.076	3,3%	33
Fars	4.385.869	6,4%	64
Qazvin	1.166.861	1,7%	17
Qom	1.064.456	1,6%	16
Kordestan	1.574.118	2,3%	23
Kerman	2.432.927	3,6%	36
Kermanshah	1.938.060	2,8%	28
Kohgiluyeh &Boyerahmad	695.099	1,0%	10
Gilan	2.410.523	3,5%	35
Golestan	1.637.063	2,4%	24
Lorestan	1.758.628	2,6%	26
Mazandaran	2.818.831	4,1%	41
Markazi	1.361.394	2,0%	20
Hormozgan	1.314.667	1,9%	19
Hamadan	1.738.772	2,5%	25
Yazd	958.318	1,4%	14

^{*}Khorasan now divided into Northern Khorasan, Southern Khorasan, and Khorasan Rasavi.

Topline Questions and Answers

M6: Province

	Number	Col%
Province Ardebil	16	1.6%
Azerbaijani Gharbi	40	4.0%
Azerbaijani Sharqi	53	5.3%
Bushehr	11	1.1%
Chahar Mahall Va Bakhtiari	11	1.1%
Esfahan	64	6.4%
Fars	70	7.0%
Gilan	39	3.9%
Hamadan	27	2.7%
Hormozgan	17	1.7%
Ilam	7	.7%
Kerman	34	3.4%
Kermanshahan	28	2.8%
South Khorasan	7	.7%
Khuzestan	58	5.8%
Kohkiluyeh Va Buyer Ahmadi	8	.8%
Kordestan	20	2.0%
Lorestan	25	2.5%
Markazi	21	2.1%
Mazandaran	45	4.5%
Semnan	8	.8%
Sistan Va Baluchistan	29	2.9%
Tehran	185	18.5%
Yazd	14	1.4%
Zanjan	14	1.4%
Qazvin	16	1.6%
Qom	17	1.7%
Golestan	20	2.0%
Khorasan Rezavi	87	8.7%
North Khorasan	11	1.1%
Total	1000	100.0%

M5: Urbanization

	Number	Col%
Urbanization Major Metros	256	25.6%
Other Urban	347	34.7%
Towns	362	36.2%
Villages	35	3.5%
Total	1000	100.0%

Q1: Do you think the economy in Iran today is going in the right direction, or do you think they are going in the wrong direction?

	Number	Col%
The Iranian economy is headed in the right direction	271	27.1%
The Iranian economy is headed in the wrong direction	423	42.3%
Neither Right nor Wrong Direction	106	10.6%
Refused	15	1.5%
Don't know	185	18.5%
Total	1000	100.0%

Q2: How do you feel about the overall economic situation in Iran today? Would you say the overall economic situation is excellent, good, fair or poor?

	Number	Col%
Excellent	35	3.5%
Good	145	14.5%
Fair	470	47.0%
Poor	327	32.7%
Refused	4	.4%
Don't know	20	2.0%
Total	1000	100.0%

Q3: In terms of your own personal economic situation, do you think your financial situation today is better, the same, or worse than it was when President Ahmadinejad took office in August 2005?

	Number	Col%
Better	236	23.6%
The same	438	43.8%
Worse	314	31.4%
Refused	1	.1%
Don't know	11	1.1%
Total	1000	100.0%

Iran: Terror Free Tomorrow, June 2007

Q4: Overall, would you say President Ahmadinejad's policies have or have not succeeded in reducing unemployment and inflation?

	Number	Col%
Have succeeded	326	32.6%
Have not succeeded	522	52.2%
Refused	54	5.4%
Don't know	97	9.7%
Total	1000	100.0%

Q5: Do you feel that President Ahmadinejad has kept his campaign promise to "put oil money on the tables of the people themselves"?

	Number	Col%
Yes	224	22.4%
No	563	56.3%
Refused	92	9.2%
Don't know	121	12.1%
Total	1000	100.0%

Q6: Compared to when President Ahmadinejad took office in August 2005, do you think the amount of corruption overall in Iran has increased, stayed the same, or decreased?

	Number	Col%
Increased	283	28.3%
Stayed the same	280	28.0%
Decreased	359	35.9%
Refused	12	1.2%
Don't know	66	6.6%
Total	1000	100.0%

Iran: Terror Free Tomorrow, June 2007

Q7a: I am going to read you a list of possible investment options for the government of Iran when it comes to investing Iran's oil and gas revenues. Please tell me for each option that I read whether you think it is very important, somewhat important, somewhat unimportant, or not at all important? (Rotate List)

Creating New Jobs

S	Number	Col%
Very important	917	91.7%
Somewhat important	44	4.4%
Somewhat unimportant	3	.3%
Not at all important	12	1.2%
Refused	3	.3%
Don't Know	22	2.2%
Total	1000	100.0%

Q7b: I am going to read you a list of possible investment options for the government of Iran when it comes to investing Iran's oil and gas revenues. Please tell me for each option that I read whether you think it is very important, somewhat important, somewhat unimportant, or not at all important? (Rotate List)

Curbing Inflation

	Number	Col%
Very important	895	89.5%
Somewhat important	64	6.4%
Somewhat unimportant	3	.3%
Not at all important	14	1.4%
Refused	3	.3%
Don't Know	21	2.1%
Total	1000	100.0%

Iran: Terror Free Tomorrow, June 2007

Q7c: I am going to read you a list of possible investment options for the government of Iran when it comes to investing Iran's oil and gas revenues. Please tell me for each option that I read whether you think it is very important, somewhat important, somewhat unimportant, or not at all important? (Rotate List)

Improving the oil and gas industry itself

	Number	Col%
Very important	783	78.3%
Somewhat important	128	12.8%
Somewhat unimportant	20	2.0%
Not at all important	18	1.8%
Refused	1	.1%
Don't Know	49	4.9%
Total	1000	100.0%

Q7d: I am going to read you a list of possible investment options for the government of Iran when it comes to investing Iran's oil and gas revenues. Please tell me for each option that I read whether you think it is very important, somewhat important, somewhat unimportant, or not at all important? (Rotate List)

Developing nuclear energy, but not nuclear weapons

	Number	Col%
Very important	757	75.7%
Somewhat important	117	11.7%
Somewhat unimportant	36	3.6%
Not at all important	35	3.5%
Refused	9	.9%
Don't Know	45	4.5%
Total	1000	100.0%

Iran: Terror Free Tomorrow, June 2007

Q7e: I am going to read you a list of possible investment options for the government of Iran when it comes to investing Iran's oil and gas revenues. Please tell me for each option that I read whether you think it is very important, somewhat important, somewhat unimportant, or not at all important? (Rotate List)

Developing nuclear weapons

	Number	Col%
Very important	369	36.9%
Somewhat important	147	14.7%
Somewhat unimportant	81	8.1%
Not at all important	282	28.2%
Refused	16	1.6%
Don't Know	105	10.5%
Total	1000	100.0%

Q8: Iran's oil and gas industry today does not have enough refineries to serve its own people's needs for gasoline and fuel. Some people think new investments should be made to improve Iran's declining oil and gas industry. Others think these investments should be made instead in developing nuclear energy. Which do you think should be the first priority?

	Number	Col%
Improving the oil and gas industry	411	41.1%
Developing nuclear energy	459	45.9%
Refused	45	4.5%
Don't know	85	8.5%
Total	1000	100.0%

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Q9a: Thinking about Iran's economy, normal trade relations now exist with only some countries. Do you favor or oppose having normal trade relations with each of the following countries? (Rotate List)

China

	Number	Col%
Strongly favor	636	63.6%
Somewhat favor	142	14.2%
Somewhat oppose	33	3.3%
Strongly oppose	96	9.6%
Refused	9	.9%
Don't know	84	8.4%
Total	1000	100.0%

Q9b: Thinking about Iran's economy, normal trade relations now exist with only some countries. Do you favor or oppose having normal trade relations with each of the following countries? (Rotate List)

Iraq

	Number	Col%
Strongly favor	378	37.8%
Somewhat favor	159	15.9%
Somewhat oppose	78	7.8%
Strongly oppose	295	29.5%
Refused	11	1.1%
Don't know	78	7.8%
Total	1000	100.0%

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Q9c: Thinking about Iran's economy, normal trade relations now exist with only some countries. Do you favor or oppose having normal trade relations with each of the following countries? (Rotate List)

Britain or the UK

	Number	Col%
Strongly favor	392	39.2%
Somewhat favor	130	13.0%
Somewhat oppose	73	7.3%
Strongly oppose	298	29.8%
Refused	10	1.0%
Don't know	96	9.6%
Total	1000	100.0%

Q9d: Thinking about Iran's economy, normal trade relations now exist with only some countries. Do you favor or oppose having normal trade relations with each of the following countries? (Rotate List)

Russia

	Number	Col%
Strongly favor	479	47.9%
Somewhat favor	164	16.4%
Somewhat oppose	65	6.5%
Strongly oppose	179	17.9%
Refused	11	1.1%
Don't know	102	10.2%
Total	1000	100.0%

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Q9e: Thinking about Iran's economy, normal trade relations now exist with only some countries. Do you favor or oppose having normal trade relations with each of the following countries? (Rotate List)

The United States

	Number	Col%
Strongly favor	334	33.4%
Somewhat favor	109	10.9%
Somewhat oppose	70	7.0%
Strongly oppose	389	38.9%
Refused	15	1.5%
Don't know	82	8.2%
Total	1000	100.0%

Q9f: Thinking about Iran's economy, normal trade relations now exist with only some countries. Do you favor or oppose having normal trade relations with each of the following countries? (Rotate List)

France

	Number	Col%
Strongly favor	561	56.1%
Somewhat favor	171	17.1%
Somewhat oppose	38	3.8%
Strongly oppose	134	13.4%
Refused	9	.9%
Don't know	87	8.7%
Total	1000	100.0%

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Q9g: Thinking about Iran's economy, normal trade relations now exist with only some countries. Do you favor or oppose having normal trade relations with each of the following countries? (Rotate List)

Israel

	Number	Col%
Strongly favor	105	10.5%
Somewhat favor	27	2.7%
Somewhat oppose	31	3.1%
Strongly oppose	748	74.8%
Refused	17	1.7%
Don't know	71	7.1%
Total	1000	100.0%

Q9h: Thinking about Iran's economy, normal trade relations now exist with only some countries. Do you favor or oppose having normal trade relations with each of the following countries? (Rotate List)

Turkey

	Number	Col%
Strongly favor	569	56.9%
Somewhat favor	192	19.2%
Somewhat oppose	39	3.9%
Strongly oppose	109	10.9%
Refused	9	.9%
Don't know	82	8.2%
Total	1000	100.0%

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Q10a: Do you favor or oppose investment from Western countries in Iran to create more jobs?

	Number	Col%
Strongly favor	523	52.3%
Somewhat favor	225	22.5%
Somewhat oppose	53	5.3%
Strongly oppose	156	15.6%
Refused	8	.8%
Don't know	35	3.5%
Total	1000	100.0%

Q10b: Do you favor or oppose medical, education and humanitarian assistance from Western countries to Iranian people in need?

	Number	Col%
Strongly favor	505	50.5%
Somewhat favor	247	24.7%
Somewhat oppose	46	4.6%
Strongly oppose	157	15.7%
Refused	6	.6%
Don't know	39	3.9%
Total	1000	100.0%

Q11: A hospital ship recently provided medical care to 61,000 patients, including major surgeries and medical training, while visiting Indonesia and Bangladesh. Would you like a hospital ship like this to visit Iran on a similar medical humanitarian mission?

	Number	Col%
Yes	732	73.2%
No	194	19.4%
Refused	3	.3%
Don't know	70	7.0%
Total	1000	100.0%

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Q12a: Should Iran accept or refuse a hospital ship visit from each of the following countries? (Rotate Order)

Russia

	Number	Col%
Accept	558	69.2%
Refuse	157	19.5%
Refused question	11	1.4%
Don't know	80	10.0%
Total	806	100.0%

Q12b: Should Iran accept or refuse a hospital ship visit from each of the following countries? (Rotate Order)

USA

	Number	Col%
Accept	339	42.0%
Refuse	380	47.2%
Refused question	16	2.0%
Don't know	71	8.8%
Total	806	100.0%

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Q12c: Should Iran accept or refuse a hospital ship visit from each of the following countries? (Rotate Order)

Israel

	Number	Col%
Accept	171	21.2%
Refuse	549	68.1%
Refused question	17	2.1%
Don't know	69	8.6%
Total	806	100.0%

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Q12d: Should Iran accept or refuse a hospital ship visit from each of the following countries? (Rotate Order)

China

	Number	Col%
Accept	608	75.5%
Refuse	120	14.9%
Refused question	10	1.3%
Don't know	67	8.3%
Total	806	100.0%

Q12e: Should Iran accept or refuse a hospital ship visit from each of the following countries? (Rotate Order)

European Union

	Number	Col%
Accept	577	71.6%
Refuse	139	17.3%
Refused question	10	1.2%
Don't know	80	9.9%
Total	806	100.0%

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Q12f: Should Iran accept or refuse a hospital ship visit from each of the following countries? (Rotate Order)

Saudi Arabia

	Number	Col%
Accept	590	73.2%
Refuse	133	16.5%
Refused question	8	1.0%
Don't know	75	9.3%
Total	806	100.0%

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Q12g: Should Iran accept or refuse a hospital ship visit from each of the following countries? (Rotate Order)

Turkey

	Number	Col%
Accept	604	75.0%
Refuse	117	14.5%
Refused question	11	1.4%
Don't know	74	9.2%
Total	806	100.0%

Q13a: Do you favor or oppose the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran developing nuclear energy?

	Number	Col%
Strongly favor	779	77.9%
Somewhat favor	136	13.6%
Somewhat oppose	18	1.8%
Strongly oppose	38	3.8%
Refused	10	1.0%
Don't know	19	1.9%
Total	1000	100.0%

Q13b: Apart from nuclear energy, do you favor or oppose the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran developing nuclear weapons?

	Number	Col%
Strongly favor	330	33.0%
Somewhat favor	190	19.0%
Somewhat oppose	48	4.8%
Strongly oppose	370	37.0%
Refused	13	1.3%
Don't know	50	5.0%
Total	1000	100.0%

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Q14: If the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran had nuclear weapons, do you think that the people of Iran would live in a safer or more dangerous world?

	Number	Col%
Safer	515	51.5%
More Dangerous	314	31.4%
Neither safer nor more dangerous	67	6.7%
Refused	19	1.9%
Don't Know	85	8.5%
Total	1000	100.0%

Q15a: I'm going to read a list of types of assistance which Iran has been offered by other countries. These have been offered if Iran provides full inspections and a guarantee not to develop or possess nuclear weapons. For each, please tell me if you would support or oppose Iran receiving this type of assistance in return for Iran guaranteeing not to develop nuclear weapons.

Trade and capital investment overall to create more jobs

	Number	Col%
Support	802	80.2%
Oppose	147	14.7%
Refused question	12	1.2%
Don't know	39	3.9%
Total	1000	100.0%

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Q15b: I'm going to read a list of types of assistance which Iran has been offered by other countries. These have been offered if Iran provides full inspections and a guarantee not to develop or possess nuclear weapons. For each, please tell me if you would support or oppose Iran receiving this type of assistance in return for Iran guaranteeing not to develop nuclear weapons.

Trade and capital investment in energy refineries to lower the price of gasoline

	Number	Col%
Support	792	79.2%
Oppose	162	16.2%
Refused question	14	1.4%
Don't know	31	3.1%
Total	1000	100.0%

Q15c: I'm going to read a list of types of assistance which Iran has been offered by other countries. These have been offered if Iran provides full inspections and a guarantee not to develop or possess nuclear weapons. For each, please tell me if you would support or oppose Iran receiving this type of assistance in return for Iran guaranteeing not to develop nuclear weapons.

Medical, education and humanitarian assistance to Iranian people in need

	Number	Col%
Support	795	79.5%
Oppose	167	16.7%
Refused question	9	.9%
Don't know	28	2.8%
Total	1000	100.0%

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Q15d: I'm going to read a list of types of assistance which Iran has been offered by other countries. These have been offered if Iran provides full inspections and a guarantee not to develop or possess nuclear weapons. For each, please tell me if you would support or oppose Iran receiving this type of assistance in return for Iran guaranteeing not to develop nuclear weapons.

Technological assistance for developing peaceful nuclear energy

	Number	Col%
Support	798	79.8%
Oppose	142	14.2%
Refused question	12	1.2%
Don't know	48	4.8%
Total	1000	100.0%

Q16a: I am going to read you a list of possible long-term goals for the government of Iran. Please tell me whether you think these goals are very important, somewhat important, somewhat unimportant, or not at all important for the government of Iran. (Rotate List)

Developing an arsenal of nuclear weapons

	Number	Col%
Very important	287	28.7%
Somewhat important	184	18.4%
Somewhat unimportant	78	7.8%
Not at all important	333	33.3%
Refused	19	1.9%
Don't Know	100	10.0%
Total	1000	100.0%

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Q16b: I am going to read you a list of possible long-term goals for the government of Iran. Please tell me whether you think these goals are very important, somewhat important, somewhat unimportant, or not at all important for the government of Iran. (Rotate List)

Improving the Iranian economy

	Number	Col%
Very important	880	88.0%
Somewhat important	64	6.4%
Somewhat unimportant	16	1.6%
Not at all important	13	1.3%
Refused	10	1.0%
Don't Know	16	1.6%
Total	1000	100.0%

Q16c: I am going to read you a list of possible long-term goals for the government of Iran. Please tell me whether you think these goals are very important, somewhat important, somewhat unimportant, or not at all important for the government of Iran. (Rotate List)

Providing financial support for Arab and other foreign groups such as Hamas and Hezbollah

	Number	Col%
Very important	331	33.1%
Somewhat important	235	23.5%
Somewhat unimportant	103	10.3%
Not at all important	235	23.5%
Refused	16	1.6%
Don't Know	80	8.0%
Total	1000	100.0%

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Q16d: I am going to read you a list of possible long-term goals for the government of Iran. Please tell me whether you think these goals are very important, somewhat important, somewhat unimportant, or not at all important for the government of Iran. (Rotate List)

Seeking trade and political relations with Western countries

	Number	Col%
Very important	468	46.8%
Somewhat important	257	25.7%
Somewhat unimportant	90	9.0%
Not at all important	106	10.6%
Refused	19	1.9%
Don't Know	62	6.2%
Total	1000	100.0%

Q17a: Do you support or oppose financial assistance to each of the following groups? (Rotate List)

Palestinian opposition groups like Hamas and Islamic Jihad

	Number	Col%
Strongly support	435	43.5%
Somewhat support	212	21.2%
Somewhat oppose	69	6.9%
Strongly oppose	198	19.8%
Refused	27	2.7%
Don't know	58	5.8%
Total	1000	100.0%

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Q17b: Do you support or oppose financial assistance to each of the following groups? (Rotate List)

Lebanese Hezbollah

	Number	Col%
Strongly support	410	41.0%
Somewhat support	226	22.6%
Somewhat oppose	79	7.9%
Strongly oppose	205	20.5%
Refused	25	2.5%
Don't know	56	5.6%
Total	1000	100.0%

Q17c: Do you support or oppose financial assistance to each of the following groups? (Rotate List)

Iraqi Shiite militias

	Number	Col%
Strongly support	379	37.9%
Somewhat support	201	20.1%
Somewhat oppose	76	7.6%
Strongly oppose	257	25.7%
Refused	25	2.5%
Don't know	61	6.1%
Total	1000	100.0%

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Q18a: In the past, some Iranian diplomats have offered proposals to the United States that would lead to normal relations. I will read you some of the proposals, beginning with those Iran asked for from the United States. For each, please tell me whether you favor or oppose this proposal? (Rotate List)

Full United States recognition of Iran and normalized trade relations

	Number	Col%
Strongly favor	555	55.5%
Somewhat favor	129	12.9%
Somewhat oppose	50	5.0%
Strongly oppose	176	17.6%
Refused	20	2.0%
Don't know	69	6.9%
Total	1000	100.0%

Q18b: In the past, some Iranian diplomats have offered proposals to the United States that would lead to normal relations. I will read you some of the proposals, beginning with those Iran asked for from the United States. For each, please tell me whether you favor or oppose this proposal? (Rotate List)

Full access for Iran to peaceful nuclear technology

	Number	Col%
Strongly favor	774	77.4%
Somewhat favor	75	7.5%
Somewhat oppose	23	2.3%
Strongly oppose	55	5.5%
Refused	18	1.8%
Don't know	55	5.5%
Total	1000	100.0%

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Q19a: Now, I am going to read you several proposals which some Iranian diplomats were willing to give to the United States in return for normal relations. For each, please tell me whether you would favor or oppose this proposal.

Full transparency by Iran to assure there are no Iranian endeavors to develop or possess nuclear weapons

	Number	Col%
Strongly favor	374	37.4%
Somewhat favor	139	13.9%
Somewhat oppose	83	8.3%
Strongly oppose	290	29.0%
Refused	29	2.9%
Don't know	86	8.6%
Total	1000	100.0%

Q19b: Now, I am going to read you several proposals which some Iranian diplomats were willing to give to the United States in return for normal relations. For each, please tell me whether you would favor or oppose this proposal.

Endorse recognizing Israel and Palestine each as separate, independent states

	Number	Col%
Strongly favor	420	42.0%
Somewhat favor	126	12.6%
Somewhat oppose	84	8.4%
Strongly oppose	261	26.1%
Refused	36	3.6%
Don't know	73	7.3%
Total	1000	100.0%

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Q19c: Now, I am going to read you several proposals which some Iranian diplomats were willing to give to the United States in return for normal relations. For each, please tell me whether you would favor or oppose this proposal.

Ending Iranian support for any armed group inside Iraq and only using Iranian influence to actively support a peaceful, democratic government in Iraq

	Number	Col%
Strongly favor	494	49.4%
Somewhat favor	144	14.4%
Somewhat oppose	42	4.2%
Strongly oppose	187	18.7%
Refused	34	3.4%
Don't know	99	9.9%
Total	1000	100.0%

Q20a: I am going to read you a list of three options for governing Iran. Please tell me whether you support or oppose each as a form of government for Iran. (Rotate List)

A political system where the 'Supreme Leader' rules according to religious principles, and cannot be chosen or replaced by a direct vote of the people.

	Number	Col%
Strongly support	167	16.7%
Somewhat support	102	10.2%
Somewhat oppose	82	8.2%
Strongly oppose	531	53.1%
Refused	55	5.5%
Don't know	63	6.3%
Total	1000	100.0%

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Q20b: I am going to read you a list of three options for governing Iran. Please tell me whether you support or oppose each as a form of government for Iran. (Rotate List)

A political system where the 'Supreme Leader,' along with all leaders, can be chosen and replaced by a free and direct vote of the people.

	Number	Col%
Strongly support	719	71.9%
Somewhat support	72	7.2%
Somewhat oppose	27	2.7%
Strongly oppose	108	10.8%
Refused	29	2.9%
Don't know	45	4.5%
Total	1000	100.0%

Q20c: I am going to read you a list of three options for governing Iran. Please tell me whether you support or oppose each as a form of government for Iran. (Rotate List)

A political system where there is a monarch who is not elected by the people, rules for life, and his family inherits the right to rule.

	Number	Col%
Strongly support	63	6.3%
Somewhat support	40	4.0%
Somewhat oppose	56	5.6%
Strongly oppose	745	74.5%
Refused	45	4.5%
Don't know	50	5.0%
Total	1000	100.0%

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DEMOGRAPHICS

D1: Gender

	Number	Col%
Male	505	50.5%
Female	495	49.5%
Total	1000	100.0%

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D2: Your actual age

	Number	Col%
18-24	253	25.3%
25-34	271	27.1%
35-44	198	19.8%
45-54	112	11.2%
55+	166	16.6%
Total	1000	100.0%

D3: Do you work.....?

	Number	Col%
Full-Time	233	23.3%
Part-Time	124	12.4%
Does Not Work	641	64.1%
Don't Know	2	.2%
Total	1000	100.0%

D4: (ASK ONLY THOSE WHO ARE WORKING FULL OR PART TIME): Are you...?

	Number	Col%
	TAUTHDEL	C01 /0
Self-employed	82	23.0%
State Company	83	23.2%
Foundation	5	1.3%
Private Firm/Factory of 10 or Less	62	17.2%
Private Firm/Factory of More Than 10	48	13.4%
Other	65	18.2%
Refused	11	3.0%
Don't Know	2	.7%
Total	357	100.0%

D5: (ASK ONLY THOSE WHO ARE WORKING FULL OR PART TIME IN D3): What is your primary occupation?

	Number	Col%
Owner of a Large Business	11	3.0%
Enterprise Manager	6	1.6%
Department/Div. Manager	12	3.4%
Professional	40	11.1%
White Collar Worker	26	7.4%
Clerical Worker	18	5.0%
Foreman, Technician	6	1.7%
Skilled Worker	32	8.8%
Semi-Skilled Worker	12	3.2%
Unskilled Worker	40	11.1%
Military (Officer)	1	.3%
Civil Servants	54	15.2%
Farmers, Fishermen	15	4.1%
Landless Agricultural Laborer	1	.3%
Small Business Owner, Shopkeeper	75	20.9%
Refused	7	2.0%
Don't Know	3	1.0%
Total	357	100.0%

D6a: How many years of formal education have you completed?

	Number	Col%
Illiterate/No Formal		
Education But Can	79	7.9%
Read/Write		
Elementary,Intermediate	160	16.0%
Secondary	477	47.7%
University	285	28.5%
Total	1000	100.0%

D6b: Educational achievement

	Number	Col%
Illiterate	46	4.6%
No Formal Education But Read & Write	33	3.3%
Some/Finished Elementary	75	7.5%
Some/Finished Intermediate	85	8.5%
Some Secondary	132	13.2%
Finished Secondary	345	34.5%
Some/Finished College	165	16.5%
Finished University	120	12.0%
Total	1000	100.0%

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D7: What is your religious affiliation?

	Number	Col%
Shia Muslim	914	91.4%
Sunni Muslim	46	4.6%
Muslim	33	3.3%
Other	6	.6%
Don't Know	1	.1%
Total	1000	100.0%

D8: What is your household's total monthly income from all sources, that is all types of income for all persons living at this address? Is it.....?

	Number	Col%
100,000		
Tomans or	86	8.6%
Less		
100,001 -		
150,000	123	12.3%
Tomans		
150,001 -		
200,000	194	19.4%
Tomans		
200,001 -	205	20.50/
400,000	385	38.5%
Tomans		
400,001 Tomans or	120	12.00/
Tomans or Greater	139	13.9%
Refused		
Refused	41	4.1%
Don't Know	33	3.3%
Total	1000	100.0%

D9: Would you describe your household as upper class, middle class, working class, or poor?

	Number	Col%
Upper (A/B)	10	1.0%
Middle (C1,C2)	571	57.1%
Working (D)	219	21.9%
Poor (E)	194	19.4%
Refused	2	.2%
Don't Know	4	.4%
Total	1000	100.0%

D10: What is your ethnic origin?

	Number	Col%
Persian	544	54.4%
Azeri	187	18.7%
Gilaki & Mazanderani	84	8.4%
Kurd	70	7.0%
Arab	20	2.0%
Lur	65	6.5%
Baloch	11	1.1%
Turkmen	7	.7%
Other	11	1.1%
Refused	2	.2%
Total	1000	100.0%

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